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Worried? Have a coke!

The American economy, said Treasury Secy. George Humphrey (above) last week, is enjoying a pause that refreshes, and everything is going to be just hunky-dory. The week before, his Cadillac Cabinet colleague, Commerce Secy. Sinclair Weeks, predicted record business for 1956. Of course, said Weeks, there are a few soft spots in auto, farm machinery and home-building, and there may be a mild dip in the third quarter (with a quick pickup), but things are really fine, fine. . . .

WHY KHRUSHCHEV SPOKE

High Soviet official in frank interview; denies Jewish curbs

By Tabitha Petran
GUARDIAN staff correspondent

MOSCOW

EKATERINA FURTSEVA, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and one of its eight secretaries, told the GUARDIAN in an exclusive interview that two main reasons lay behind the decision to make public the record of the Stalin regime: (1) that without the knowledge the people would be unable to understand the harmful meaning of "the cult of personality"; (2) that full public knowledge is essential to insure against a repetition of what developed in the last years of Stalin's life.

Mrs. Furtseva, an attractive blue-eyed blonde woman with a quick intelligence and a warm smile, was elected to her present post of Central Committee secretary and named a candidate for membership in the Party Presidium by the 20th CP Congress. In a first interview with an American correspondent at Central Committee headquarters in Staraya Ploshad (Old Square), she emphasized that the criticism of the cult of Stalin at the 20th Congress was not—as some in the West would like to believe—a sign of weakness, but of strength.

"If we were weak," she said, "no one could have spoken frankly. Truth is for the strong, not the weak."

THREE MAIN RESULTS: Assessing the significance of the Congress concerning internal affairs, Mrs. Furtseva listed three main achievements: (1) the adoption of the sixth Five Year Plan, with immense aims in the economic field; (2) group decisions to improve living standards (some already realized and some about to be); (3) frank examination of the cult of personality and the re-establishment of collective leadership.

(This emphasis reflects in actual context the revelations about Stalin as they

(Continued on Page 4)

EKATERINA FURTSEVA
One woman to another

THE LAW

Supreme Court rules out blanket 'security' program

By Lawrence Emery

BACK IN 1947 President Harry S. Truman took a long departure from settled U.S. practice when he set up a "loyalty program" under which government employes could be fired summarily under vague and anonymous accusations tagging them as "security risks."

Tough as the Truman program was, Congress by 1950 wanted it tougher and in that year passed a new law. It specified 11 government departments designated as "sensitive" to which the program would apply, and contained a clause permitting the President to extend the law from time to time as he saw fit. In 1953 President Eisenhower did extend it—he made it cover every government employe without exception.

From that time on government workers lived in fear. There has been no accurate count of the number fired, but some estimates put the figure at more than 10,000. Even a person dismissed for drinking too much bore the fatal label of "security risk." The system spread to industry and private employment and the web covered millions of Americans. And it is variously estimated that from 50% to 90% of those fired from the government were not in "sensitive" posts and had no

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CLARK FOREMAN CITED TOO

Robeson denounces 'un-Americans,' faces contempt

AFTER ABOUT AN HOUR of Paul Robeson on the witness stand, Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.), chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, banged his gavel, murmured, "I've stood about as much of this as I can," and declared the session adjourned.

Said Robeson: "You should adjourn this forever."

The committee members present huddled in a corner and pronounced themselves unanimous in holding Robeson in contempt of Congress. Next day the full committee ratified the contempt citation, which now goes to the full House; if it is upheld there it goes to the Justice Dept. for court action.

Robeson was subpenaed on June 12 in pursuance of a committee probe of what Walter calls "the use of passports in the furtherance of the international communist conspiracy."

BOUDIN PROTESTS: Also cited for contempt was Clark Foreman, director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee which is backing Robeson's legal fight to regain his passport canceled by the State Dept. in 1950. Foreman refused to surrender his passport to the committee. Dr. Otto Nathan, associate professor of economics at New York University and executor of the estate of Albert Einstein, also refused to surrender his passport but contempt action against him was deferred.

Attorney Leonard B. Boudin, who represents both Robeson and Nathan in their passport cases, was put on the stand in connection with his own fight for a passport. He challenged the committee's jurisdiction, protested the committee's probe while the cases are still before the courts, and answered questions under protest. He denied that he is or ever was a member of the Communist Party. The committee referred his testimony to the Justice Dept. for "possible perjury" ac-

(Continued on Page 10)

Just A *gentle* Reminder

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THE MAIL BAG

Mother on parole

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Our mother has lived under the supervisory parole provisions of the Walter-McCarran Act for the past three years. Indignities are forced upon her, the threat of fines and imprisonment are constantly held as a club over her head. Therefore it was a welcome sight to see your informative articles dealing with the problems of foreign-born Americans like our mother.

Little did I realize that upon my return from overseas service with the Army Air Forces in World War II that this could happen to us. My brother joins me in thanks to a fine newspaper.

Irving and Seymour Toffler

•

OAKLAND, CALIF.

I want to thank you for the very fine articles. This great evil of the Walter-McCarran act must be exposed and corrected. I hope your staff and your readers will not rest until this law is repealed.

Frances Tandy

•

DETROIT, MICH.

It may interest you to know that more than 75 men and women are on supervisory parole here in Michigan. Your articles will help to break down the wall of silence which surrounds the plight of so many of our fellow-Americans and lead to the repudiation of this and other repressive features of the Walter-McCarran Law.

Sol Grossman,
Michigan Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

The communists, of course, have switched their attitude toward pure-bred dogs in the post-Stalin regime. At one time the keeping of fine dogs was considered "evidence of bourgeois reaction," but now top-level party functionaries like their dogs pedigreed and preened just like many a dog lover this side of the iron curtain.

San Francisco **Chronicle**, Pets column, May 20

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Ellis Colton, San Francisco. Be sure to send original clipping with each entry.

Louis Wheaton's side

NEW YORK, N. Y.

On May 24, 1956, I was subpoenaed before the House Un-American Activities Committee and advised to bring my passport and all other travel documents in my possession. At this hearing statements were made and carried in the press charging me with treason, and that my file was being turned over to the Justice Dept. for investigation.

The stories in the press were based entirely upon unsupported and slanderous statements made by Reps. Francis E. Walter and Gordon H. Scherer of the Committee.

I am proud of my convictions for peace, freedom and democracy. I invoked the First and Fifth Amendments to the Constitution on all of the provocative questions fired at me because: 1. They are bedrock traditions to protect the American democratic process. 2. The kind of questions asked were intended for the purpose of concocting a perjury indictment against American citizens. These perjury indictments are supported only by the slanderous statements of discredited stoolpigeons.

The injustice of these witch-hunt hearings is shown by the fact that after I refused to submit to an inquisition into my political views Walter went ahead and answered questions himself in order to make headlines in the press.

The crux of the problem is that Washington would keep the Negro who is uncompromising in his fight for the rights of all oppressed peoples behind a wall of silence in the U. S. if it is thought he or she would bring attention to the position of the exploited and oppressed people of this country. In other words the need to silence the Negro so far as the other parts of the world are concerned is a necessity. If this were not true, why the ban on Paul Robeson's right to travel? And I venture to say that such a ban would be placed on Rev. Martin Luther King if it were thought he would expose the situation in the South.

This attack has resulted unjustly in the loss of my job, as has happened to thousands of Negroes and workers throughout America, and I am sending this letter to set the facts straight.

I urge the protest of our American citizens, who are duty-bound to uphold our democratic heritage against the continuous brutal attacks against Negroes and whites who stand up for the right to think and for free expression.

Louis A. Wheaton

Reply to Forer

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. Joseph Forer, co-counsel for the Communist Party in the McCarran Act case, has criticized my article on "The Supreme Court and the CP."

Mr. Forer thinks that I should not have expressed the belief that the Court would have sustained the Act if it had chosen to deal with the Constitutional issue. He argues that my view "may induce a pessimistic attitude among readers as to the ultimate outcome." Even if my prognostication were pessimistic, it would not necessarily be false by virtue of that. Since, however, I am not at all pessimistic about the outcome of the case, and since I thought the Court's "tainted testimony" decision was a victory for the CP, I am sorry that Mr. Forer found any pessimism in my optimism.

Mr. Forer says that Justice Clark, in his extemporaneous dissent, did not say what I attributed to him. Since both Mr. Forer and I were in the courtroom I can only say that it is more likely for a person to fail to hear something than for a person to hear something that was not said.

Daniel M. Berman

From Rebecca Mindel

BRONX, N. Y.

I wish to thank you and the readers of the GUARDIAN for your help in winning back our old-age pension payments. The many protests of your readers against the lawless and cruel action on the part of the Social Security Administration in denying us our rightful benefits under the law helped win this victory.

Even though the victory is as yet not complete and the basic issue of social security rights for communists is still awaiting decision, I feel that the groundwork has been laid to ensure the benefits of the Social Security law for all Americans regardless of their political beliefs.

Rebecca Mindel

Estes and Adlai

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

He is status, I am quo
When we're together, whoa!
  whoa! whoa!
Keep us together, buggy and
  horse
And what you'll get is more
  remorse.

David Seidman

Drawing by Eccles, London

"Coal up, Fares up, Food up! I suppose we can expect the shop steward up, too, any minute now!"

Smith Act victim

CHICAGO, ILL.

I am Indiana's first Smith Act victim. I have been indicted in the Southern District, Indiana Federal Court, under the membership provision.

At the time of my arrest, J. Edgar Hoover, in a public statement, charged me with criticizing Pres. Eisenhower "for endorsing" the Korean war and "wanting to see it extended." Mr. Hoover did not mention anything about "overthrowing the government", only that I opposed the Korean war! That confirms my belief that mine and other Smith Act arrests are a thin excuse for persecuting political opposition.

Emanuel Blum

People's interest

ASHLAND, ALA.

Is it too much to hope that independent people's interest committees can be developed for political action from now through the fall election to inspect the real issues of utmost concern to the farmers, labor, the Negro people and all the millions of the other little people?

We got stuck with the anti-communist strategy to our great loss since F.D.R.'s death because the left-led unity with the big liberal majority was "busted up." Now, with this developing new unity, can we not hammer away on the two parties' leading candidates and smoke them out on the real issues p-l-a-i-n so everybody will have a better say-so in the elections this time?

Then, perhaps later, we can do better on building the coming real big progressive party.

Hardy Scott.

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REPORT TO READERS

Picnic time

Last year I joined the Methodists
And we had lots of fun;
But the best of all the picnics
Was the Presbyteriun!

James Whitcomb Riley*

IF THE HOOSIER POET were alive today, he would undoubtedly be a GUARDIAN reader (he penned grand things about Gene Debs for example) and we would have asked and surely got permission to use his verses to open up the subject of a GUARDIAN sociable out your way this summer.

One year he joined the Baptists, remember, "and goodness, how it rained!" but the Presbyterians won out because they had so many ". . . puddings, cakes and pies, that a feller wish'd his stomach was bigger than his eyes."

We don't see how we can ask the Baptist or the Presbyterians to share the proceeds of their summer sociables with us, so the next best thing is to run something among your own friends for the GUARDIAN's summer sustenance fund.

LOOKING OVER THE LIST of U. S. post offices to which we mail the GUARDIAN, the total comes to more than 4,000. So we figure, conservatively, that there could be perhaps 4,000 GUARDIAN neighborhood parties of some kind scheduled between now and the end of summer (officially 8:36 p.m. Sept. 22)—which would see us nicely through any summer slump that could possibly occur.

Some of them could be pretty scrumptious parties, too. We have at least one Bank President among our subscribers (out Iowa way); a Mayor in Illinois; two retired U. S. Generals and numerous lesser brass, including a noncom on a U. S. gunboat somewhere in the Atlantic; a well-known vitamin magnate; any number of noted novelists, poets, artists; a wide selection of gourmets in good standing; and, overseas, an African king, four British M.P.'s and a genuine (non-Formosan) Chinese General.

AS TO WHERE some of these shindigs might shape up most promisingly, we think of Hungry Horse, Mont.; Truth or Consequences, N. Mex.; Potlatch, Wash.; Spearfish, N. D., Warsaw, Ind.; and any number of Moscows, from Idaho to you know where.

We'll leave it to someone else to bring the matter up in Embarrass, Minn., but we're going to press for action in Admire, Kan.; Bachelor, Mo.; Dinero, Tex.; Greenbackville, Va.; and Tilly Foster, N. Y. (where the detour ought to be ended by August). Also, we have a banker friend in Accra, on the West African Gold Coast, and connections in Proffit, W. Va.

ALL IN ALL, it might seem as if the GUARDIAN ought to be in pretty good shape for the summer, with 4,000 benefits shaping up, but you have to figure on some setbacks, too. For example, if memory serves, we were rained out last year in Paradise, Calif. and snowed in at Wetchikan, Alaska.

So, in order not to leave anything to chance or the other fellow, why don't YOU figure to collect some friends in YOUR neighborhood some weekend day or weekday night while the weather holds up, and stage a GUARDIAN picnic, barbecue, potlatch, sack race, peanut jab, Hi-Fi fest, reappraisal or whatnot. The net might be $10 or (who knows?) $100!

Whatever or however, just drop us a line with an approximate date and what you plan to have. We'll help with the invite and will surely be able to supply something in the way of touring speaker or perhaps a good LP record which you can auction off or give to the hostess (the record, that is). As for speakers we'll know more later, but mainly we'll have to limit this to day-coach hops from home.

Anyway, let's get the schedule drawn up for July-August-September—and make sure your friends are in on the fun.

THE GUARDIAN

*From fading memory; can someone offer a Compleat James Whitcomb Riley for our own library?

BELFRAGE REPORTS FROM FINLAND

World journalists seek to lower all curtains

By Cedric Belfrage

OTANIEMI, FINLAND

HERE on a fir- and birch-girt lakeshore a worldwide plot by newspapermen to subvert the cold war has moved a big step toward success. From 40 countries comprising ¾ of the world's population, 229 of us with a battalion of interpreters to pierce the language barrier have come together for five days.

There were a dozen-odd journalistic "exiles", including Australia's Wilfred Burchett (formerly of the London **Express**), the famous war correspondent with the Korean-Chinese side who now lives in Vietnam, and Britain's John Peet (formerly of Reuters) who publishes the **Democratic German Report** in East Berlin. Twenty-four were listed as "observers", but the great majority were delegated by their countries' professional organizations.

The scene was a group of modern buildings—including a Finnish steam bath on the rim of the lake—used as a students' home and, in 1952, to house the Olympic Games contestants. (The conference was held in the huge Olympic sports hall.) Since the athletes met here four years ago, the world's neighbor peoples have got together on many levels from government leaders to atomic scientists. The frantic efforts still made to prevent such a meeting on the journalist level testify to the power of the printed word for peace or war.

THE URUGUAY STORY: Counter-efforts by journalists, to mend the split into two world organizations corresponding with the two cold-war camps, have steadily continued. Early this year Uruguayan journalists invited colleagues of 85 countries to a world congress in Montevideo. Although Uruguay's government had promised money to finance the congress, the project died on the vine after reports were spread that it was organized and financed by the "communist" Intl. Orgn. of Journalists headquartered in Prague.

The story of this "most brutal and shameless attack on freedom of opinion"—with proofs that it emanated from the U.S. Embassy—was told to the delegates here by Uruguayan editor Luis Alemanez. IOJ president J.-M. Herrmann, foreign editor of the Paris **Liberation**, told the meeting that while the IOJ had actively aided the international committee preparing the Finland meeting (the "Western" Intl. Fedn. of Journalists was invited but refused to participate), it had known nothing of the Montevideo project until the invitation came from Uruguay. Alemanez, who described as "the saddest chapter of all" the co-operation of U.S. and British journalists' unions in red-baiting the Montevideo congress, said:

"As they knew very well, neither I nor any member of the congress initiating committee is or ever was a communist. But no slander by a few governments and national leaders can break the unity of real journalists. World unity is very close and will be achieved on a strictly professional basis with or without the U.S. and Britain." As proof he pointed to the presence here of delegations from such countries as West Germany, Austria, Brazil (34 delegates), France, Indonesia, Israel, Italy, Japan (11 delegates), Mexico, Pakistan, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia and Yugoslavia.

THE INDIAN GROUP: Delegates paid deserved tribute to the host country, Finland, which however exhibited a certain schizophrenia: only left-wing Finnish newspapermen participated, and most newspapers almost ignored the history-making fact of so many schools of journalists convening here from the ends of the earth; but Education Minister (and acting Foreign Minister) Virolainen, at an official reception for the delegates, expressed his cordial wish that the meeting would "increase trends toward mutual understanding in the world press" and "lessen the tension reigning between different ideologies."

All attempts to red-bait the meeting were placed in a ridiculous light by the Indian delegation of 17 distinguished journalists and editors, who played a particularly vital mediating role. Some 800 journalist sponsors in every part of India had probably put in more and harder organizing work than any other group, and the delegation came here with blessings from top members of their government.

FOR LOWER CURTAINS: Politics was barred from the conference and only one or two delegates let their emotions carry them away from the professional sphere. The keynote was peaceful journalistic co-existence, and cooperation at least on the minimal level of unhampered exchange of news and free movement of journalists. Since no delegates came who were prepared to defend the capitalist thesis of press freedom and of the journalist's responsibility to a publisher rather than to truth, the concrete work was necessarily confined to making recommendations and the unilateral lowering of curtains. The importance of these recommendations is that they were formulated after discussions in which "neutral" delegations played a leading part. With simultaneous translation into six languages, delegates spoke with deep feeling of the fight in their countries for fairer working conditions and against pressures to distort truth; and subcommittees worked together to synthesize these problems into resolutions of universal application.

The effects of the 20th Soviet Communist Party congress showed themselves in frank and friendly clashes between delegates from socialist countries. In the subcommittee to formulate an international journalists' code, the East Germans fought for a long, all-embracing code but finally withdrew it after the Poles pointed out the political implications that might be read into it. The accepted resolution called briefly for world acceptance of the code worked out at UN for the professional conduct and rights of journalists accredited there.

THE EDITOR-IN-EXILE LISTENS IN IN FINLAND
Cedric Belfrage (l.) with John Peet of Democratic German News

THE EX-COLONIALS: Outstanding was the contribution made by delegates from countries just moving out of colonial status—journalists entrusted with developing a healthy press in areas where the revolution of literacy is bringing millions of new newspaper readers into existence. Indian and other delegates demanded an end to the system under which many newspapers depend on Western news agencies and government hand-outs and the Soviet official agency **Tass**. The Sudan's Fadl Beshir described the struggle still going on his country against repressive press laws inherited from the colonial regime. India's Surendra Ghosh, editor of the Lucknow **Pioneer**, said his country's press had changed from a fighter for freedom into an industry, and now they had publishers to fight in getting new press laws implemented.

U.S.-inspired pressures against truthful reporting, and to maintain "a war-like atmosphere", were detailed by delegates from Japan and Mexico, and by Brazil's Mario da Rocha and others who brought greetings to the conference from high Brazilian officials. Tunisia's Mohamed ben Hadji, director of the four-year-old Tunis **Akhbar**, said:

"We journalists who have been imprisoned and persecuted know how risky it is to write the truth, but to stop the blood flowing everywhere we must accept the hardness of our profession and stand up for the truth and nothing but the truth. We must defend the just cause of the oppressed peoples, who will never lose faith in final victory."

WELCOME TO RUSSIA: The U.S.S.R.'s Boris Isakov, who took the opportunity to thank William Randolph Hearst Jr. and other Americans for the "example of good and warm collaboration" shown when Soviet journalists recently visited the U.S., joined in Soviet promises to welcome any and all journalists and to remove material obstacles which have hampered their work there in the past. Many delegates attacked the denial by certain countries of passports and visas to journalists. Wilfred Burchett told how, after he had been "charged with nothing more nor less than revealing the truth" about the Korean peace negotiations, Australia had refused to renew his passport. He traveled to Finland with a document issued by the North Vietnam authorities, which baffled all passport authorities en route but got him through. (Other Australians arrived with passports "not valid for Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia" as well as "the U.S.S.R.")

The best and most useful part of the meeting were the informal discussions among newspapermen whose worldwide tribe had never before been able to get together. Many friendships bringing a new kind of international understanding were made by the lake among the firs and birches, and all left for home with the conviction that "world unity is very close."

One delegate who works for an agricultural publication took the plane from Helsinki for Paris where he was to attend a world conference on the growing of mushrooms. "All major countries interested will be represented there," he said. "In the mushroom field, complete co-existence has been achieved."

NOTICE TO READERS

Beginning with the July 2 issue, and continuing through the summer, the GUARDIAN will be published in its summertime eight-page edition. Watch for exciting dispatches from Tabitha Petran and Cedric Belfrage from the Soviet Union. All our regular features will be continued. We will revert to 12-page issues immediately after Labor Day.

SEGREGATION'S BLOODHOUNDS

Mississippi network to spy on Negroes

MISSISSIPPI'S 12-member State Sovereignty Commission was created by the legislature "for the maintenance of segregation." Gov. J. P. Coleman, its chairman, announced on May 15 that his state would be the first to set up an FBI-type department whose main job would be—according to the June **Southern School News**—"to check on maneuvers of those seeking to force integration in Mississippi, 'so we can be ready for all counterattacks.'"

Criticism by "several Mississippi newspapers opposed to the use of secret agents brought no comment. Nor did the view expressed by some legislators that the new department was unnecessary because of existing statutes to prevent or delay enforcement of Supreme Court anti-jimcrow decrees. A Pittsburgh **Courier** reporter was told by a spokesman: "It's possible we may want to hire a Negro." Would this secret agent be considered "an official arm of the state government?" The answer was that Mississippi would be willing to pay "state money" for information on Negro activities.

Southern School News quotes Gov. Coleman's calling his new agency Mississippi's "eyes and ears" and the legislature's describing it—when appropriating an initial $250,000 operating fund—"the State's watch dog." A Negro reporter suggested "bloodhound" rather than "watch dog." The Negro press in general seems to believe that whatever it is called the agency will provide a new roost for stool pigeons.

See you at the BIG GUARDIAN WEEK-END AT WINGDALE ON-THE-LAKE Fri.-Sun. June 29, July 1

THE WITCH-HUNT GOES ON

4 auto workers fired in St. Louis after 4-day hearing; 33 are called

(Special to the Guardian)

ST. LOUIS

EARLY IN JUNE the House Committee on Un-American Activities swept through here to the customary accompaniment of grinding movie cameras and blazing headlines. The score: 33 witnesses called, 29 took the Fifth Amendment rather than give names of alleged Communists to the Committee; one refused on "grounds of conscience" without citing any specific Constitutional privilege; two were familiar professional informers; one was a "surprise" friendly witness, Dr. John F. Rutledge of Crystal City, Mo., a former national committeeman of the Progressive Party.

The four-day hearings cost the jobs of four workers in the Fisher Body Assembly Plant, a branch of General Motors. One of those suspended from his job said that the hearings were timed with construction of a gigantic new wing on the plant, said to contain the latest in automation techniques. The suspended worker said the inquisition was calculated to still expected protests on the consequences of automation.

WORK STOPPAGE: The St. Louis **Post-Dispatch** reported that one witness, William H. Holland, a door-hanger at the plant, was suspended after a work stoppage of 14 minutes by 50 employes allegedly protesting Holland's continued employment. Other workers who were "unfriendly" witnesses reported expressions of solidarity from neighbors and shopmates. One said that several of his fellow workers offered to serve as his bodyguard.

Committee counsel Frank S. Tavenner publicly commended the union at the Fisher Body plant, Local 25 of the United Auto Workers, as "quite active in trying to solve the problem of Communist infiltration in industry."

Informers William Cortor and Thomas Younglove gave the names of about 125 St. Louis residents to the committee and these were publicly smeared. Younglove also named persons in New York, Chicago and other places who, he said, were Communists. He spoke of a Communist school which taught the "mechanics of sabotage" and how "to blow up St. Louis and keep it blown up."

AN FBI PLANT: Cortor figured in the Smith Act trials of five local Communist Party leaders. Last week defense attorneys argued before the Court of Appeals that there had been a general miscarriage of justice because Cortor had participated in the defense while making reports to the FBI. At the homes of lawyers and defendants Cortor had helped map courtroom strategy as an FBI plant, the lawyers said.

Dr. Rutledge, who said he resigned from the National Committee of the Progressive Party shortly after the 1948 election, offered the names of alleged Communists he worked with in the Natl. Citizens' Political Action Committee, Progressive Citizens of America and Missouri Citizens for Wallace.

Joseph Schoemehl, a fourth "friendly" witness, testified in closed session only. The hearings were chaired by Rep. Morgan M. Moulder (D-Mo.) who frequently threatened to cite for contempt those who claimed the privilege of the Fifth Amendment. Also at the hearings were Reps. Gordon H. Scherer (R-Ohio) and James B. Frazier (D-Tenn.).

Soviet interview

(Continued from Page 1)

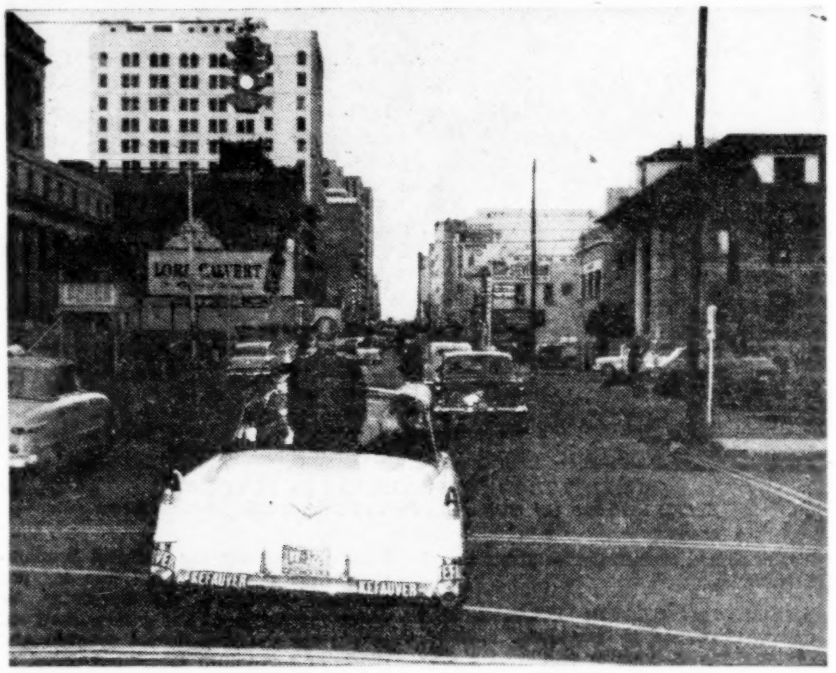
are seen here, a context which gives them a different meaning than in the West and has made for a far calmer reception. If the 20th Congress statements disturbed the people greatly, they also raised their expectations, and these expectations are being fulfilled. Scarcely a week passes without some new decree making for concrete improvement in the lives of the average person. Already the work week has been cut from 48 to 46 hours, with a six-hour day. Paid maternity leave has been increased from 77 to 112 days. Tuition fees have been abolished for senior grades, secondary grades, specialized schools and higher educational institutions. The pension system has been reorganized and beginning this fall pensions will rise substantially.)

THE PEOPLE UNDERSTAND: Like other members of the Central Committee, Mrs. Furtseva read and discussed Congress material on the Stalin "cult" with workers and farmers, in factories and in offices. She said she found that Communists and the Soviet people in general "accepted it quite correctly." She pointed out that the Soviet press had prepared the way by a discussion of the matter beginning just after Stalin died. While conceding that there may have been some criticism of the present leadership, she insisted that the overwhelming majority understood that the revelations had been made for the people's good—not simply to reveal personal shortcomings, but to avoid repetition. She added that "certain wrong viewpoints" had been expressed by some, as **Pravda** had noted.

In explaining how the cult had developed, Mrs. Furtseva noted that it had been a complicated matter, growing over a period of 20 years. She stated it thus: It is possible that in the late thirties attention was being drawn to the situation then developing, but the war broke out and for the Soviet Union it was a desperate war. During the war, she said, deification of Stalin was understandable because Soviet soldiers went into battle with words for the Fatherland and for Stalin. This inspired their valor but raised the personality of Stalin too high. After the war, conditions were very hard and the deification of Stalin then, too, may have helped to inspire people. But the attribution of all successes to Stalin "was of course incorrect."

NOT ENOUGH MEETINGS: Mrs. Furtseva's view is that one of the main reasons for the development of the cult was the failure to hold Party congresses in 1939 and 1952, or Party conferences after 1941; the shortcomings might have been noticed earlier had there been regular party meetings. She asked rhetorically: "Could we call conferences and plenums during the war? Of course we couldn't. Could we busy ourselves with meetings during the period of reconstruction? The main problem was to improve living conditions. We gave our main attention to that and to developing the national economy."

All Central Committee members, Mrs. Furtseva said, were responsible for the situation that developed: "And not only the Central Committee, but many others. This wasn't an isolated problem. Everyone was responsible. But the main question now is not who was responsible, but how to correct the situation, how to insure that such things are not repeated."



Look down that lonesome road

Sen. Estes Kefauver rises from his car seat to acknowledge any cheer anywhere along the empty streets of Miami Beach. The candidate never quite found his crowd and lost to Adlai Stevenson in Florida and California primaries. On Sunday, June 17, on the NBC-TV program "Meet The Press," Kefauver ate his humble pie, asked forgiveness for harsh words uttered against Stevenson, explained: "I got mad and lost my head." Stevenson said he was "very much pleased" by the apology and went on campaigning vigorously at a picnic in Des Plaines, Ill. He golfed, pitched horse shoes and rode a tandem bicycle before a battery of cameras as if to challenge the Republicans to put in the field as vigorous a candidate to match him. Political critics noted though, that his partner on the tandem was his physician who impatiently called for salt tablets for Stevenson as the bicycle ride ended. Gov. Harriman, running as a "radical" on civil rights, cheerfully accepted the support of Oklahoma Gov. Gary who called him the very thing Harriman called Stevenson—a "moderate." Harriman said it was a atter of "semantics."

THE JEWISH QUESTION: She emphasized that the cult had hindered progress in every sphere of activity, every field including the nationalities question. But she denied emphatically that there had ever been any suppression of Jewish culture or repression of the Jewish people. She acknowledged that she had not read the article in the Polish Jewish-language **Folksshtimme**, detailing the shutting down of Jewish cultural institutions in the Soviet Union, the arrest and execution of Jewish leaders and therefore could not express a positive opinion concerning these allegations. But she declared flatly that if there had been any drive against the Jewish people or Jewish culture, "we would have published it ourselves and would not need to have it published in the Polish press."

Some mistakes might have occurred, but Jewish culture in the Soviet Union has been developing freely she said, pointing to many Jewish people prominent in science and the arts. She added that some 80% of the musicians who played at the Tito reception at the Kremlin were Jewish.

SOME TRANSFERRED: She said that some years back talk of anti-Semitism here was stirred as a result of a misinterpretation of certain government actions. The government had found in some of its departments a heavy concentration of Jewish people, upwards of 50% of the staff. Steps were taken to transfer them to other enterprises, giving them equally good positions and without jeopardizing their rights. All of this was in accordance with Lenin's principles on the national problem, she said. But, she said, these steps were misinterpreted and added: "It is impossible to speak of anti-Semitism in our country."

Mrs. Furtseva is the first woman Central Committee secretary in 36 years. The only woman who previously achieved this rank was Stasova, an old-time associate of Lenin, who was Central Committee secretary in 1918-20. Mrs. Furtseva joined the Komsomol (Young Communists) at 13, under the Party's "Lenin Call" a month after Lenin died. Five years later she was a Party member and before the outbreak of the war was first secretary of the Frunze District of Moscow, where 80% of Moscow's medical institutions are concentrated. Her wartime responsibilities included seeing that the institutes prepared medical personnel for the front and the rear, and that industries produced everything for the front.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN: In January, 1950, she was elected first secy. of the Party's Moscow City Committee and still devotes most of her time to this job. Her husband, Firyubin, is the present Ambassador to Yugoslavia. Their daughter, 14, is a sports enthusiast. She was born in one of the most difficult periods of the war—May, 1942. The fact that for so many years few women, if any, were in top government posts, Mrs. Furtseva attributes only in part to the Stalin cult. This did hinder the promotion of women, but not nearly as much, in her view, as the fact that little attention was paid to the problem. She said this situation began to be corrected to some extent before the 20th Congress, but since the Congress much more attention is being paid to it. Pointing to the Moscow Party organization (where roughly one-third of the District Committee secretaries are women) and to numerous women Deputy Ministers (about 28%), she said she did not feel it was accurate to say that there are today "few women in top posts." But, she said, more women should be up top. There must be no limit to their promotion, she said, and she intended to use her influence in this direction.

HOW WERE GAINS MADE? She denied current rumors that the Moscow Party will soon call a conference to consider ideological questions raised by the events of the 20th Congress, but such a conference may be called eventually.

How was it possible, the reporter asked, to develop productive forces on a scale achieved in the Stalin era, and to unleash great collective creative efforts in so many areas of Soviet life, while violations of the law, according to facts now revealed, took place in other areas? Mrs. Furtseva replied:

"This speaks of the great advantages of the Socialist system that, with all these great shortcomings, we could have such great development. Now, when these obstacles are removed—and they are being removed—our progress will be much greater and quicker. Come here again in one, better, two years. The changes will be so great you will not recognize what you have seen before. The removal of the cult of personality has unleashed freedom and initiative in people. We are sure a great upsurge will take place in a few years."

During a fortnight in Moscow, this reporter has often heard this expectation—that the next two or three years will see a tremendous burst of energy in all walks of life, expressed in many different ways and by many kinds of people.

Some add frankly: "We need it."

Give This Paper To A Friend

DIVIDE AND RULE

Secession moves in Southern unions by White Councils

(Special to the GUARDIAN)
GREENSBORO, N.C.

THE WHITE CITIZENS COUNCILS are busy on a "front" not generally reported in the daily press. They are active with appeals to the white Southern workers to secede from their international unions and thereby help the bosses in their old tactic of "divide and rule."

These secession appeals have met with limited success in several industrial centers of the South. In Birmingham, Ala., the White Councilmen, through their agent Elmer B. Brock, are making a bid for the 6,000 employees of Hayes Aircraft Corp., members of the United Auto Workers. Brock has organized the Southern Aircraft Workers Inc. He has also helped organize the Southern Fabricating and Steel Workers Inc., a secession outfit from the Birmingham local of the Intl. Assn. of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Workers.

Brock and other White Councilmen make much about the unions' efforts to "Sovietize the South." This same cry was utilized by the Klan in its efforts to stop the CIO in the late 30's. A typical Klan poster of the time read:

CIO IS COMMUNISTIC
COMMUNISM
WILL NOT BE TOLERATED
KU KLUX KLAN
RIDES AGAIN!

THEIR "WAY OF LIFE": Today this appeal is being used not only in Alabama by the Councils but by similar hate groups in South Carolina, one of the textile centers of the nation. Thomas Pickens Brady, a Mississippi circuit judge,

Arkansas State Press

"Integration is setting her free, to make a full contribution."

spoke this month at Sumter, S.C., in a high school auditorium on "Integration and Communism." The Councilmen in that state are trying to organize an all-South union movement. One of its leaders is Charles E. Smith, former president of an AFL textile local in Hartsville, S.C. He said he wanted to organize a union movement patterned after the "South's way of life."

In Augusta, Ga., recently 29 members of the municipal employes seceded with this statement: "We read in the newspapers that the AFL-CIO has come out for fully supporting racial integration. We don't intend to pay dues to support any such program." It is reported by union organizers and agents who travel between North and South Carolina that the Councils are actively circulating membership cards in textile mills. One organizer said the same thing is happening in other Southern communities. He said: "Those who are out to divide labor on this integration issue aren't losing any time about it." M. L. Wood, white textile labor leader from Columbia, S.C., reported that about "70 per cent" of the members of his local are also members of the Councils.

THE COUNTER FIGHT: Other reports of Council activity come from Virginia, Texas and the border state of Tennessee, where the Councils mailed 10,000 pieces of anti-integration literature to white union members.

Many Southern white labor leaders are doing their utmost to combat the trend toward secession. Julius Fry of Greensboro, N.C., who heads the state Joint Board of the Textile Workers Union of America, said the unions could solve their problems "if they condemned the White Citizens Councils that seek to divide us." Another white Southern textile leader, E. T. Kirkland, told cheering delegates at the textile union convention recently that he disagreed with the union's resolution in favor of the desegregation of schools, but he added: "I'll be a TWUA member till I die!" A white woman delegate from High Point, N.C., voted in favor of the resolution because "my children want me to."

A North Carolina AFL vice-president (a labor organizer for 45 years) said there was "not a chance in the world of them [White Councils] separating us now. You might have a president here and there or a local that will break off, but nothing wholesale will happen."

No Southern state federation of the AFL-CIO has broken away from the national organization. On the contrary, in Georgia, Alabama and Virginia the state federations and many union leaders have strongly urged the preservation of the public school system. In opposing its breakdown they are having to oppose a chief point in the program of the White Councils. In Texas, Gov. Shivers, who represents the extreme segregationist view, was defeated by organized labor. Shivers himself said: "In key cities the effective organized forces of union labor carried the day."

PROFITS MOUNT: The tactic of "divide and rule" in the South means good profits for Southern-located firms. The Reynolds Tobacco Co. and the huge Cone Mills, both North Carolina factories, reported record profits for 1955. Runaway plants continue to move South at a wild pace. While GE laid off employes in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, it opened 15 new Southern plants. For Southern workers, Negro and white, this division in ranks means such low per capita pay as $22 a week in North Carolina and less than $1,000 a year in Arkansas and Mississippi.

The employers' new method of dividing Southern workers by secession, one white mill worker said, is a challenge to the AFL-CIO. He said: "If they plan to organize they better do it now."

Plans to organize the South and to counter the White Councils were announced by the AFL-CIO textile unions and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers earlier this month.

W. E. B. DuBOIS ON THE ELECTIONS

Clean out the Congress

By W. E. B. Du Bois

I HAVE BEEN deeply interested in the reaction to my suggestion of March 26 that if there is no chance for a real third-party candidate for President to appear on the ticket in 1956, then I will stay home. I am reminded that in a few states third-party Presidential candidates will appear on the ticket. This is true in so few states that a vote for them is but an empty gesture. Moreover, what do they stand for? I do not know and they have but limited chance to tell me.

The essence of a candidacy is freedom to campaign. Only the candidates of two parties will be free to campaign over the nation, and they both stand for nothing of which I approve. Listen to Eisenhower's talk on "Communism." It was stupid. Add to this his pontifical declaration that the United States is at its height in world esteem. How can any responsible statesman make such an outburst with a straight face? Listen to Stevenson and Kefauver debate. What deserves notice from those who want peace, lower and fairer taxation, civil liberties, and the welfare state—what do they say that differs essentially from each other and from Eisenhower? Moreover, many forget that we do not vote directly for President but for Presidential electors. This makes a write-in practically impossible.

WHO RUNS THE SHOW? Admit, then, my friends, that for 1956 at least, we're licked so far as Presidential candidates are concerned. Big Business will nominate the candidates. Big Business will screen the news and write the editorials. Radio and television, owned by Big Business, will conduct the campaign. The FBI will scare voters. Millions of dollars in slush funds will pay "expenses." How much of this is flat bribery, we will never know—if the Senate continues to prevent investigation and the House never starts it. So our democracy will fall flat so far as choice of Presidential candidates is concerned.

Despite that, remember that it is not the President, but the Congress, which is responsible for the collapse of democracy in this nation. Illegal, immoral, and shameless "investigations" have turned justice into a mockery and disgrace. Citizens unrepresented by counsel have been publicly insulted and browbeaten, while deprived of nearly every civil liberty guaranteed by the Constitution and the English common law. Congress has trespassed on the domain of the President and the courts and arrogantly and insultingly threatens further forays.

The President from his prominence and power remains in the full blaze of publicity and therefore is peculiarly subject to public opinion. If, like Franklin Roosevelt, he is a liberal leader, public opinion will support him, despite Congress, money and the mob. If, like Herbert Hoover, he is a reactionary capitalist, only public opinion can restrain him at all. No President can wholly escape the compelling pressure of democratic public opinion. Corporations and monopoly can limit our choice of candidates for the Presidency to one platform, and that is theirs.

WHO PLAYS THE FOOL? Presidents recently have vetoed most of our worst legislation. It is Congress which has played the tyrant and the fool. It is the federal House of Representatives especially which should first center our attention. The House of Representatives is a faceless, irresponsible anonymity of 435 largely unknown men, mostly mediocre and sometimes criminal, who often get away with theft, lying and graft.

Someone has proposed a new game: "Who is your Congressman?" There are three guesses, a dollar an entry, and the winner gets the kitty. A second and more difficult game could be: "Where is your Congressional district?" This might put a few guts into the school geography lesson and explain those good old nineteenth century words, "rotten borough" and "gerrymander."

Forget the Presidential election of 1956. It is already lost and your vote is absolutely worthless. Or, if this is only true of me and others in my position, if you can cast a real vote in November, go cast it; I can't, so I stay home.

LOOK AHEAD TO 1958: Meantime, let us turn our attention toward Congress and first toward the House of Representatives. It is probably too late to do anything this year with the whole election muddled up with the Presidency.

But planning today and acting in 1958, with the field clear

W. E. B. DuBOIS and VITO MARCANTONIO
"The only man who dared oppose war. . . ."

for Congressional elections, why can we not throw everything we have into electing a House of Representatives worthy of a great democracy in the middle of a shameful but hopeful century? First we must envision an entirely different sort of Congress. We must get hold of men of proven integrity and character, not chosen by ward-heelers and "Business Men," but by intelligent honest citizens. We must select men of manners and morals; men who do not plan to use their membership in Congress for bribery, graft, and theft; who can read and write and know the history of the modern world. We cannot hope to get progressives except in exceptional cases. We can hope to get honest and open-minded men who can and will learn.

In order to get such sort of men in Congress, the town meeting of open public debate in small areas must be restored. We must drive the ward politician into the open and restore a primary assembly of decent citizens, where the sneaking FBI cannot stop debate and grafting police cannot bring charges of conspiracy.

GET AFTER THE MAN: Of your present Congressman and any proposed candidate, ask: What is his name? What does he do for a living? What is his record? What bills has he introduced, supported, opposed? How often is he in his seat? What committees is he on? Look up his votes and note how often his vote is not recorded. This is a favorite alibi. Inquire into his program. If he gets snooty remind him that you are paying his salary. Congressmen are well paid. They receive expenses and pensions. Most of them have as many relatives on their payrolls as the traffic will bear. Get after him by letter, personal call, or group approach. Do not be afraid. Some of your civil liberties still survive.

If the FBI asks you if you associate with Negroes, answer that you are trying to associate with Congressmen. If anyone asks if you are a "Communist," tell him that is none of his business but that it is your business to have a vote and be able to cast it as you please. Demand to know his own stand on peace, taxation, education, housing, old age and sickness security, the draft, and the right to think and talk.

There are honest, hard-working, public-spirited Congressmen, like the brave Vito Marcantonio. Remember what was done to him. Money, ignorance and prejudice drove from Congress the only man who dared oppose war and substituted for him something worse than nobody and lower than nothing.

In other words, organize by Congressional District and go after your Congressman and go hard. In no other way can democracy function in this nation. This will call for unselfish work, but only in this way can we clear the halls of Congress of its present rubbish.

THE SCIENTISTS REPORT

The menace of atomic radiation

By Elmer Bendiner

THE DISTINGUISHED scientists of the American Academy of Science, a private but non-profit organization, have agreed that nuclear war could make the earth uninhabitable. But nuclear peace—along with its great promise—also carries terrifying risks and requires tremendous safeguards, they warned last week as they gave the nation its first full length briefing on the atomic age.

The experts filed six reports on the effect of deeply penetrating radiation on the human body, future generations, food supply, water, weather and the problem of disposing of the highly charged waste disposal from atomic plants.

Simultaneously British scientists issued their own findings that if more thermonuclear weapons were fired the bones of some in present generations might be affected. And, at the American Medical Assn.'s annual meeting in Chicago, doctors reported a rising rate of malformed children among radiologists.

THE MAY 20 HYDROGEN TEST AT BIKINI ATOLL
The ominous mushroom begins to form in second phase

PENETRATING RAYS: The menace surrounding us, say the scientists, lies in rays, which like invisible light beams, penetrate the human body with such high energy that they produce chemical and biological changes in the tissues through which they pass. These rays, particularly the gamma or X-rays, are emitted from material like radium whose atoms, instead of remaining stable, disintegrate.

A certain amount of radiation has always bombarded the human body from radioactive material in rocks, soil, plants, cosmic rays coming from beyond the earth's atmosphere. When man split the atom he opened new sources of penetrating radiation.

All high-energy radiation, natural or man-made, is harmful, say the scientists, shortening the life of the person subjected to it and perhaps injuring his descendants. There is no minimum amount of radiation a person can absorb without damage. A little radiation does a little harm; any increase in radiation increases the damage; a very great increase can people the planet with monsters or destroy the human race altogether. The effect is cumulative, like the unchecked boring of termites into wood.

THE POTENTIAL DANGER: The scientists agreed that the present danger—even with the fall-out from bomb tests—is small, but "the potential danger is great."

The scientists referred to "the possibility that increased and prolonged radiation might so raise the death rate and so lower the birth rate that the population, considered as a whole, would decline and eventually perish. We are at present extremely uncertain as to the level of this fatal threshold for a human population. This is one reason why we must be cautious about increasing the total amount of radiation to which the entire population is exposed."

The geneticists were concerned with safeguarding the genes—tiny depositories of all the features and tendencies inherited from the parents—which exist in each cell of the body. Genes can be greatly altered, by heat, chemicals or by radiation. When a particular cell is affected by radiation and its gene structure is damaged, the cells that evolve from it have similarly damaged genes. In that way the whole body may in time be affected, sometimes in scarcely perceptible ways, at other times by leukemia, sterility, a life cut short.

The prime worry of the geneticist, though, is the sperm or egg cell which can pass on a damaged inheritance to future generations. Such mutations are all harmful, however minor. The major ones can produce a still-birth, a deformed child, a child doomed to die young. These drastic mutations affect few, however tragic their cases may be. The less spectacular mutations, which may involve a shorter life span than normal, or a subtler ailment, can be passed on from generation to generation, ultimately affecting thousands.

The inherited defects may show up in the first generation or not until many generations have passed.

CALCULATING THE RISK: The risk is present now and growing. How to calculate that risk was the scientist's problem. Radiation is measured in units called roentgens. In the 30 years from the time of birth to the time the average person has passed on his biological inheritance to his children, he accumulates about 4.3 roentgens from natural causes—the "background radiation" from rocks and plants and cosmic rays. In higher altitudes in the U. S. the average is perhaps 5 roentgens. Medical X-rays add, on the average, 3 roentgens to the cells which are involved in reproduction. Some absorb much more. For example, even a dental X-ray will send about .005 roentgens through the sex cells. A general flouroscopic examination of the whole body may emit 2 or more roentgens.

The radiation from the fall-out of atomic weapons testing is difficult to measure, varying widely from place to place, depending on weather conditions. There is an immediate fall-out within 100 miles of the explosion and within 10-24 hours; an intermediate fall-out coming a few weeks after the explosion and at a greater distance; delayed fall-out stored in the stratosphere to fall perhaps months or years after the explosion. Scientists know little about how much delayed fall-out there may be or when it may fall.

THE DOSE VARIES: The fall-out measured in the U. S. in the last five years led the scientists to estimate that if bomb testing were to continue at the high rate of the years 1953-1955, the average American would be subjected over a 30 year period to radiation of from .10 to 2.5 roentgens. If the number or size of bombs are increased the rate will rise proportionately.

THE INDUSTRIAL ATOM: On top of the bomb tests come the slowly growing installations of atomic industrial power. The scientists could not yet measure the peril that would come with such advances but only refer to them as "future sources of radiation that might become dangerous." Part of the new era's problem will be the disposal of waste from atomic plants. If radioactive material from such plants were dumped into coastal waters it could within a few years contaminate all parts of the world. If dumped into the ground it could contaminate the food supply. Right now the fall-out affects the food on the table of American families but the scientists say that "at present the contamination is negligible."

The geneticists drew this picture of what would happen if man, by his new-found powers, doubles the amount of natural radiation which mankind has been enduring—not without damage—since time began.

DISTORTS GENES: At present roughly 4-5% of all live births in the U. S. are marred by mental defects, epilepsy, congenital malformations, defects in nerve, muscle, blood, glands, sight, hearing, skin, bone, the gastro-intestinal or genito-urinary tracts. About half of these—2% of all births—have defects that are traceable to radiation. If the radiation were doubled the first generation of Americans would swell the number of congenitally marred children by 200,000. Eventually, as the radiation took its toll, the total would rise an additional 2 million a generation though that may take a very long time.

In any case the damaged, distorted genes will pass on their traits to children. Some defects will be neutralized in the hereditary combinations that are made by later generations; some will be accentuated. The scientists grimly traced the course of the damaged strain: ". . . the statistical extinction of the mutant genes is accomplished only through tragedy."

OVER 30 YEARS: The scientists chose another figure: 10 roentgens over a period of 30 years. It would far less than double the present rate of radiation. That would produce 50,000 new cases of congenitally defective children in the first generation and, if the rate of radiation were maintained, it would in time produce 500,000 defective births each generation: all this in addition to the congenitally defective now being born as the result of existing conditions.

Not all of the risks could be carefully assessed: for example, the possible catastrophe of an atomic reactor accidentally disintegrating, or the faulty disposal of radioactive waste. Even the rate at which human genes are damaged is calculated roughly on the basis of experiments with mice. (Dr. Herman J. Muller, Nobel-Prize winner, told the N. Y. **Post** last week that mutations in humans might occur as much as 15 times more frequently than suspected up to now.)

A SHOUTED WARNING: The scientists said that from their point of view all radiation was harmful, a calculated risk. The decision to proceed into the atomic age was not their's to make. They could only shout the warning and give this advice:

Keep records for each individual showing the total accumulated exposure to radiation, reduce X-rays to the barest minimum medically necessary; limit the average exposure (above natural radiation) to 10 roentgens for the population as a whole, 50 roentgens to any particular individual up to 30 years, and never more than another 50 up to 40 years; improve techniques for measuring the radioactive fall-out and the radioactivity stored in the stratosphere as the result of bomb explosions; set up safety standards for reactors and other atomic installations; accelerate research.

The scientists steered clear of the political significance of their findings. But leaping out of their crisp tabulation of the dangers around us was this question for free enterprisers and socialists:

What form of society can dare to take the calculated risks of the atomic age?

BID TO LABOR AND FARMERS

Minnesota Progressive Party regroups into an independent action committee

AT ITS Spring Conference in Minneapolis the last weekend in May the Minnesota Progressive Party reconstituted itself as a statewide Committee for Independent Political Action and resolved to work with all other groups having similar aims in Minnesota and nationally.

In effect, the Conference became the first such group to enlist in the spirit of a resolution circulated early this year by Clifford T. McAvoy of New York and others, urging formation of such a committee on a national basis. The declaration of the Minnesotans stated:

"As Americans become more conscious of the need for political changes to attain their objectives of peace, civil liberties and economic security, the organizations of labor and farmers will move with ever-increasing force toward an alignment beyond and independent of the old parties, at the same time building on whole blocs and sections now within the Republicans and Democrats. The guidance and leadership of progressives will be effective precisely to that degree in which ability is developed to work out our own program in terms that labor and farmers will recognize as their own, worthy of their profound allegiance and self-sacrificing support."

They expressed the hope that a national Committee for Independent Political Action would "serve as a clearing house for such plans and negotiations as may develop."

STATE OBJECTIVES: In State affairs, the Conference attacked Gov. Freeman's "labor tax" withholding plan and called instead for a "truly progressive graduated net-income state tax for both individuals and corporations . . . based squarely on ability to pay instead of inability to avoid paying." Other state objectives were teacher increases, school construction, change from township to state administration of welfare and a general program of modernization of state methods.

The Conference report on state issues noted that "the Humphrey-Freeman machine (Democratic-Farmer-Labor), after suffering a setback in the presidential primary, has regained full control of the DFL machinery and frozen out the Kefauver supporters in all but a few localities." The report urged support for independent candidates to state legislature, city boards and councils, school and park boards, etc., pointing out that the non-partisan structure of the state political machinery "is all in our favor in this battle."

THE NO. 1 STATE FOR PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

How Nebraska ousted the power trust

By Reuben W. Borough
(First of three articles)

NEBRASKA, Republican and reactionary in national politics, stands today as the first state in the union for social advance through public ownership.

This astounding development, hidden by the press-radio-television curtain of special-interest business monopoly, is embodied in two specific achievements:

1. Nebraska has banished the power trust. Within its borders every kilowatt hour of electric energy, whether generated by water fall, steam or internal combustion, is publicly-owned and publicly-distributed.

2. Nebraska, in welcome contrast to the vandalism of the nation's H-bomb tests, is pioneering the way, through public ownership, to peaceful use of nuclear energy in agriculture, industry, science. The nation's first state-owned nuclear reactor plant is now under construction, scheduled for operation in 1958.

How is it that a state whose governor is a Republican partisan and whose representatives in Congress are Republican partisans can take leadership in this commanding fashion? The explanation lies in the pervasive force of Nebraska's historical background, political structure and economy and, finally, in a crisis necessity.

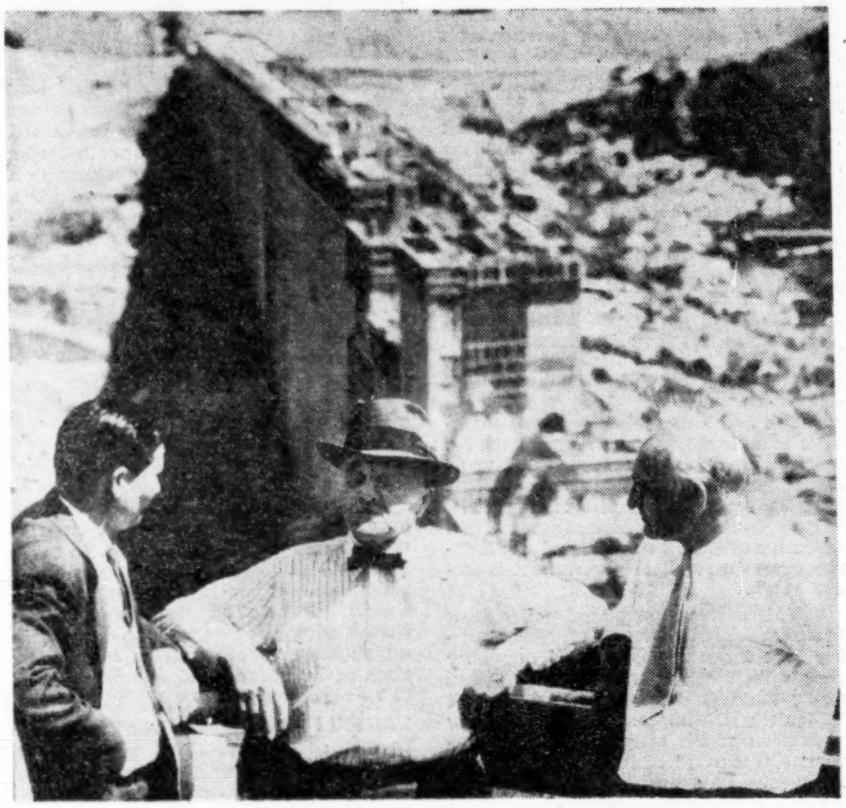
NO SAW-DUST DOGMAS: The state has an ineradicable heritage of revolt movements and revolt leaderships. Here, and in contiguous territory, the Greenbackers, the Farmers' Alliance and the Populists in the 1880's and 1890's probed and spurned the saw-dust dogmas of the financial overlords. Here—with housewife orators in the forefront—they broadcast their home-grown economic and political heresies: "fiat money" (government-created currency expanded or contracted to meet the needs of business and with no profits to private finance); government-owned banks, empowered to make direct loans to debt-ridden farmers; government-owned railroads, telegraphs and grain elevators and a series of reforms to democratize and vitalize the electoral and legislative processes of state and nation.

Let no patriot of today scoff at these prairie rebels, for their contentions and tumults reached out across the land and in less than half a century brought major benevolences of the New Deal, the adoption by many cities and states of the direct primary, the initiative, referendum and recall, and important amendments to the Constitution itself: in 1913, XVI, income tax, and XVII, election of U. S. Senators by popular vote; and in 1920, XIX, woman suffrage.

From Nebraska came William Jennings Bryan, Commoner and Boy Orator of the Platte, who, with his "Cross of Gold" speech, vanquished President Cleveland's "Gold Bugs" in the 1896 Democratic Convention at Chicago and ran for President on a platform demanding the "free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to one." There were other Nebraska personages of stature and vitality.

THE MAN NORRIS: But the state's sturdiest political heritage was Sen. George W. Norris (1861 to 1944). Few American leaders, if any, have worked more intensively to indoctrinate the people in the ideals of a progressive democracy. Few have registered so many liberating accomplishments. For 50 years, from the Bench, in the House of Representatives, in the Senate, and in grass-roots campaigns laboriously criss-crossing Nebraska this modest, conscientious and lovable neighbor moulded public thought and action.

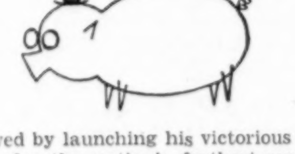
He was the dominant leader in the fight to end the Rules Committee dictatorship of House Speaker Joe Cannon in 1910, and to democratize that committee's handling of new legislation. Member of a gallant group of six Senate "Irreconcilables," he risked political annihilation in 1917 by opposing U. S. entrance into World War I. But his excoriations of



THE OLD WARRIOR STANDS AT THE NORRIS DAM
The late Sen. Norris (c.) at the TVA project named for him. To the right is former TVA chairman A. E. Morgan.

militarism and war-economy profiteering, then rejected, and his stern insistence upon disarmament and peace, then scorned, remain today fresh reservoirs of spiritual strength for the friends of international sanity.

OUR MAGNA CARTA: In 1920 he supported the woman suffrage amendment. In 1924 he backed Sen. Walsh of Montana in exposing the Teapot Dome oil scandals and thus began his prolonged vigil to guard the nation's natural resources against the raids of Greed. His name is imperishably fixed to the American Magna Carta of organized labor, the Norris-La Guardia Anti-Injunction Act of 1932. He was the author and chief sponsor of the 20th amendment to the U. S. Constitution, ending legislation by lame-duck, or hold-over, Congresses (1933). Almost single-handed, he saved Muscle Shoals for the public in the 30's—first from the power trust and then from Henry Ford—and



followed by launching his victorious campaign for the nation's farthest-reaching project in social enterprise, the Tennessee Valley Authority, of which he is now the widely acclaimed "Father."

He was the irrepressible enemy of the poll tax, the never-failing exponent of civil liberties. (How can the land which gave birth to this clean spirit exude an Eastland?)

He was the creator (1937) of Nebraska's non-partisan, unicameral legislature, a proven deterrent to the infiltration and domination of state and local community politics by the corrupt and reactionary national machines of the Republican and Democratic Parties. He served his last term in the Senate (1936 to 1942) as an Independent, elected as such in a blistering contest with Republican and Democratic "regulars." He had little time for the pleas of expediency—his habitual emphasis was on principles and thus his daily living gave continuing impetus to a critical evaluation of measures by his fellow citizens. On a summer night in August, 1944, he lay down in lasting sleep, a tired old man released from the long struggle, but on endless battle fronts his dauntless spirit still rides magnificently against the common foe.

FAMILY-SIZE FARMS: Appraisal of Nebraska must take into consideration one other stubborn fact: the Cornhusker State, like much of the surrounding Midwest, is still the land of the small farmer—of the "family-size farm." The latest available federal census (1950) shows only two of its counties exceeding 35,000 population: Douglas, with 281,000, in which the meat-packing and railway center, Omaha, is county seat; and Lancaster, with 119,000, in which the state capital, Lincoln, is located. The remainder of Nebraska's 1,325,000 population lives on its 107,000 farms (of which the average acreage is 443 and the average land and building value per acre $58) and the hundreds of towns and villages (farm trade centers) with populations averaging in a few cases above 1,000 but in the large majority in the hundreds only.

Within the limits imposed by the market and finance these small farmers own their jobs. They cannot be easily shaken loose from their toe-hold on the earth, as can the propertyless wage earners from posts in factory, mill, mine, office. Withholding of credit and foreclosure of mortgage are slow processes and can be made tough and disagreeable by maverick lawyers and sentimental judges as well as by the threat of direct action against evicting sheriffs.

This area of security on the land is not only in itself something to be fought for—it is, in addition, a base of action to be prized for further gains. Hence the rural outbursts of political and social daring. Hence the speed and passion with which the small farmer mobilizes in fighting organizations when his vital economic interests are threatened. This crisis-period-performance is strikingly set forth in Lawrence Emery's NATIONAL GUARDIAN story of April 9, "Farmers' Revolt Sets off Prairie Fire in Midwest."

So much for the Nebraska stage-setting. Next week we will take up the dynamics of the situation—the driving forces that precipitated action.

A VOTER'S GUIDE

Noted doctor sets the record right on Ike's ailment

Dr. Jacob Fine, surgeon-in-chief of Beth Israel Hospital in Boston, last week wrote a letter to the N.Y. Times on the key medico-political question of the day: the prognosis for the President after his operation to remove an obstruction in his lower intestine. The letter published in the Times (6/18) follows in part:

WE CAN ALL feel confident that the President has been given the very best care possible. Whether he will be playing golf and working a full day in six weeks or not, the fact remains that the two diseases that afflict him [referring to his earlier coronary attack] do not have a clearly predictable future. . . .

It was stated that relief of the obstruction will result in subsidence of the disease. This may or may not happen. The fact is that many patients have not been cured by an operation similar to that performed on the President. It was stated that this operation will or should improve the President's life expectancy. This is true only in terms of the threat to life created by the obstruction. It is a mistake to suppose that normal life expectancy has been prolonged. So far as regional ileitis without obstruction may be a threat to life, the effect of the operation performed cannot be predicted.

It was stated that in this age group one does not "look" for any further extension of the disease. Of course one doesn't, hopefully. But it would be a mistake to conclude that this does not occur. It was stated that there is no expectation that further surgery will be necessary. This is a mere hope. Since this type of operation frequently fails to cure, further surgery may be required and it may fail.

It was stated that having had several attacks of ileitis before, now that the operation has been done, the President will not have any more attacks. This is a judgment which experience shows cannot be relied upon.

The physicians attending the President are entitled to the utmost respect, but equally experienced physicians with a different view of the matter should have their views made known to the public, so that those citizens whose vote in November depends on their concern for an uninterrupted term of the successful incumbent can decide for themselves whether they wish in voting to take a calculated risk.

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'Security' program

(Continued from Page 1)

access to government secrets or classified material.

THE OUTDOOR LIFE: Most of those fired went quietly away to mend their lives as best they could with a brand of "disloyalty" upon them. But Kendrick M. Cole, fired as a Federal Food & Drug inspector in New York in 1953, fought back. He had been namelessly accused of associating with persons "reliably reported to be communists" and of attending meetings of an organization known as the Nature Friends of America which is dedicated to outdoor life and weekend hikes in the country. It is on the Attorney General's "subversive" list.

Cole at the time denounced the action as "an invasion of my private rights," declined a proffered hearing, and instead appealed to the Civil Service Commission, a right he was entitled to under the Veterans Preference Act. But under the

N.Y. Daily News

Eisenhower program, civil service review of "security" dismissals are prohibited. Grimly, Cole got himself an hourly job as a tree surgeon and, with the backing of the American Civil Liberties Union, began the long and costly process of appealing his case.

NO BLANKET ALLOWED: On June 11 the Supreme Court in a 6 to 3 decision found not only that Cole had been unlawfully dismissed but that President Eisenhower himself had overstepped the law when he blanketed the entire government with his "security" program. The majority opinion, written by Justice John Marshall Harlan (Eisenhower's own latest appointee), held that only those Federal employes in "sensitive" jobs may be dismissed as security risks and that the 1950 statute was designed to cover only those jobs "concerned with the nation's safety."

The majority defined "national security" as used in the 1950 was as "intended to comprehend only those activities of the Government that are directly concerned with the protection of the nation from internal subversion or foreign aggression and not those which contribute to the strength of the nation only through their impact on the general welfare."

As for the injustices inherent in the security program, the majority had this to say:

"Indeed, in view of the stigma attached to persons dismissed on loyalty grounds, the need for procedural safeguards seems even greater than in other cases, and we will not lightly assume that Congress intended to take away those safeguards in the absence of some overriding necessity, such as exists in the case of employes handling defense secrets."

A SHARP DISSENT: The Harlan opinion was concurred in by Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justices Hugo L. Black, Felix Frankfurter, William O. Douglas, and Harold H. Burton.

The dissent, written by Justice Tom C. Clark and backed by Stanley F. Reed and Sherman Minton, was short, harsh and bitter. It complained that "by this action the Court so interprets the [1950] act as to intrude itself into Presidential policy-making" and said:

"We believe the Court's order has stricken down the most effective weapon against subversive activity available to the government."

As the first heavy dent made in the government's own post-war witch-hunting activities—which provided an example in all spheres of American life—the decision was a heavy blow to the Administration. Justice Dept. officials at first declined to discuss the matter, but it was generally agreed that the reaction was one of the consternation.

COLE GETS JOB BACK: First immediate result of the decision is to reinstate Cole to his old job and to pay him back wages since his dismissal, minus outside earnings during that time. It also opens the possibility that all those wrongfully dismissed since 1953 may sue for reinstatement, or at least make a claim for back pay from the date of their firing.

As for complying with the Court order, there was considerable belief that the government might try to circumvent it by classifying all or most government jobs as "sensitive." But on June 14 Asst. Atty. Gen. Williams F. Tompkins pledged "full compliance" and said that government agencies had already been advised to restore to duty any non-sensitive employes now suspended under security charges. In addition, agencies were told not to use security measures against non-sensitive workers in the future, and revision of the executive order which extended the security program to all of government is under study.

The decision put new heat under those Congressional fire-brands bent on "curbing" the Supreme Court. The day after the decision was announced, Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) and Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.) were ready with new legislation which would specifically authorize "security" dismissals in non-sensitive jobs. Said Eastland:

"The doors of the Federal government are now open to communists. [The Court] has once again thwarted the purpose of Congress."

SENATE BILL VOTED OUT: On that same day the Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by Eastland, approved by 7 to 2 a bill which could strip the Supreme Court of its traditional power to declare state laws superseded by Federal laws in the same area unless the Congressional act "contains an express provision to that effect." The bill is backed by 12 Southern Democrats; in committee only Sens. William Langer (R-N.D.) and Estes Kefauver (D.-Tenn.) voted against it.

The American Civil Liberties Union, which backed the Cole case, called the decision "tremendously important." Director Patrick Murphy Malin said that "the extension of the security program to millions of workers in non-sensitive positions has made the program a Pandora's box" and that the "employment

Herblock in Washington Post
"WHO—ME?"

status, reputation and personal life" of many have been "severely damaged."

The decision was also hailed by ex-Sen. Harry P. Cain (R-Wash.), a one-time supporter of Joe McCarthy who lately, as a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board, has conducted a one-man crusade against the injustices of the security program. He called it "the healthiest and most refreshing thing that has happened to this country in a long time."

NEVER WAS A REASON: The ruling also cheered Sen. Thomas C. Hennings (D-Mo.) whose Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights is currently conducting hearings on the operation of the security program. He said:

"There was never any reason to classify the routine discharge of unsuitable employes as a victory for security or a 'sweeping of communists out of government.' The Supreme Court decision does much to take security out of politics, and restore it to sanity."

Cain last week appeared before the Hennings subcommittee for two days and cited several security program cases which he himself had personally investigated. One concerned a Negro couple fired from government jobs for associating with each other. Another involved Irving I. August, a young Seattle Red Cross worker who was fired when the Army refused to give him "clearance" as a security risk. As a result of Cain's disclosure of the case, the Defense Dept. on June 13 announced that the Red Cross will now offer to re-employ August.

Cain had an audience with President Eisenhower just before his current illness and said the August case made the President "indignant." Cain also charged before the Hennings committee that a "forged memorandum" had been used against William Henry Taylor, recently cleared after long being under a "security risk" cloud. Sen. Hennings pledged that his subcommittee will "vigorously and exhaustively" investigate the cases cited to it by Cain.

FREEDOMS

Miami next for boycott? Negroes give an ultimatum

MIAMI'S NEGRO CITIZENS had long considered action— including boycott —against the city buses. The arrest and fining last week of NAACP youth leader Rudolph Reid, 19, brought matters to a head. A mass meeting voted to delay a boycott pending answers to written demands on the company and circulation of a petition for support from Miami's overwhelmingly white population.

It was unanimously agreed that the time had come to wipe out bus jimcrow. The company says its drivers "obey all laws of the state and the city" and must, therefore, continue to segregate; Negro riders demand obedience to the Federal law as underscored by the U. S. Supreme Court April 22 in a ruling against intrastate bus jimcrow.

Because that ruling took the form of a refusal to review a Court of Appeals opinion specifically against a S. Carolina jimcrow law, Florida, Alabama and other states claim exemption. Drivers of Montgomery Natl. City Lines buses were threatened with arrest when the company accepted the Federal ruling as superseding state and city laws and allowed Negroes to ride unsegregated.

TALLAHASSEE HOLDS: The Tallahassee boycott entered its third week with a growing pool—according to Inter-Civic Council transportation chairman Speed—"of approximately 100 passenger cars, station wagons and trucks." The 11-member ICC, directing the Florida capital's movement as the Montgomery Improvement Assn. has directed the six-month protest in Alabama's capital, is made up of businessmen, lawyers and ministers headed by Bethel Baptist Church pastor Steele. Police harassment and arrests have formed a pattern.

City Commission, bus company and police do not deny ICC charges of conniving to smash the boycott, which grew out of the arrest of Agricultural and Mechanical College students Wilhelmina Jakes and Carrie Patterson on May 26 for "placing themselves in a position to incite a riot." The students had taken the only vacant places on the bus, which happened to be beside a white woman. Starting on the campus—students have now left for home—the boycott has spread among Tallahassee's 15,000 Negroes. The company complains of losing $2,000 daily.

The City Commission's comment on the ICC demand for (1) courtesy by bus drivers; (2) a first-come, first-served seating policy; (3) Negro drivers in predominantly Negro areas, was that (1) "the commissioners are advised that the company has and continues to have a

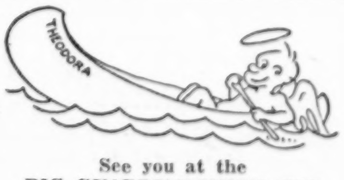
Chicago Defender
Out of sight—out of mind

strict policy of requiring drivers to practice courtesy to all passengers"; (2) "the franchise and, consequently, the existing law, require the company to make and enforce reasonab.e rules and regulations providing for segregation of the human races where more than one race is transported on the same bus"; (3) "the company advises that it will receive applications for such employment and, in the event of a vacancy, will give all applications due consideration."

"EXPLOSION OVERDUE:" A Baltimore **Afro-American** reporter wrote from Tallahassee (6/16) that the Negro community had two dentists and four physicians and was served by one drug store. The one Negro owner-driver of his taxicab told the reporter he is permitted to carry white passengers and that while taxis carry Negro riders; that although mixed Negro-white riding in private autos violates the jimcrow law, nobody interferes. Negroes were asking why, in view of these conditions, there must be jimcrow seating on buses. The time was "overdue for an explosion." The reporter wrote:

"As the company's rules are interpreted by the bus operators, colored passengers have to enter through the back door and sit behind white passengers, who enter through the front door. If whites are seated on any of the 2-seat or 3-seat benches and all seats behind them are filled, colored riders are required to stand rather than occupy one of the vacant seats next to a white occupant."

The boycotters have told the City Commission they are tired of seeing Negroes standing while seats are vacant.



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JEAN-PAUL SARTRE ON THE SOBELL CASE

Will America 'persist in dishonor'?

The following letter appeared in the N. Y. Times on June 15. The author, Jean-Paul Sartre, dramatist, essayist and leading exponent of existentialism, is the editor of the French magazine Les Temps Moderne.

I LEARN that the American courts are soon to rule on an appeal for parole by Morton Sobell, now in Alcatraz under a thirty-year sentence passed in May, 1951, for having been an accomplice of the Rosenbergs in a "conspiracy to commit espionage." Last May 8 Sobell also asked for a new trial.

I am neither an American nor a jurist. Were I either, it would still not be proper for me to attempt to influence the decision of Judge Kaufman, who must rule on these appeals as it was his duty, five years ago, to preside over the first Rosenberg-Sobell trial.

But there is nothing in law or in international custom to prevent my communicating with you and informing you of a conviction shared by many Frenchmen and Europeans—and I am told by many Americans—that Sobell is innocent and that it would be a grave injustice to have him continue to be penalized for a crime which he did not commit and for which proof has never been submitted.

OPINION IN EUROPE: As you know, the Rosenberg case stirred up considerable feeling in Europe, where opinion for the last three years has been almost unanimous in regarding as unlikely that the Rosenbergs and Sobell committed the crime of which they were accused. It seems impossible to us that a small group, whatever their opinions and intentions, could have been able to "deliver to Russia the secret of the atomic bomb" and to "change the course of history to the detriment of their country."

It is our opinion that there is no atomic secret, that science develops everywhere in the same rhythm and that production of bombs is a matter of industrial potential. The most recent developments of Soviet science and technique serve only to reinforce that conviction. As an example I cite the fine article by the director of atomic research in the U. S. S. R., Kourtchatov, published several weeks ago in **Pravda**, and which has caused some stir in Western scientific circles.

Proof which was recently assembled precisely confirms this view. In view of the arguments and the documents that have been offered, it does not seem to me arguable, at least in the case of Morton Sobell, that the prosecution has had recourse, in order to force a conviction, to false evidence and false testimony and has violated not only American law, but international law as well.

PRESUMPTION OF GUILT: Was it not asserted that Morton Sobell and his family had gone to Mexico without visas, and had been expelled? Was not this statement, in the absence of corroboration from a single witness produced against Sobell, a presumption of guilt of the first order? Was there not formal proof that Sobell had requested and obtained a Mexican visa and that it had been confiscated on Mexican territory by the American police, in violation of a series of agreements and international treaties between the United States and Mexico? Was there not proof that the prosecution was entirely aware of these irregularities—that major pieces of evidence were deliberately kept from the court and caused false statements to be made by witnesses deposing under oath?

It is always difficult—and we French have learned this by experience—to obtain a new trial when the prestige of a nation is involved. But I know that you agree with me in thinking that when justice is at stake, considerations of prestige must not prevail. I do not want to believe that the United States could persist in error and dishonor when on the other side of what is happily less and less of an iron curtain other countries have under way reviews of past trials more dangerous and a good deal more painful for their national self-esteem.

Jean-Paul Sartre
Paris, June 10, 1956

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Robeson defiant

(Continued from Page 1)

tion.

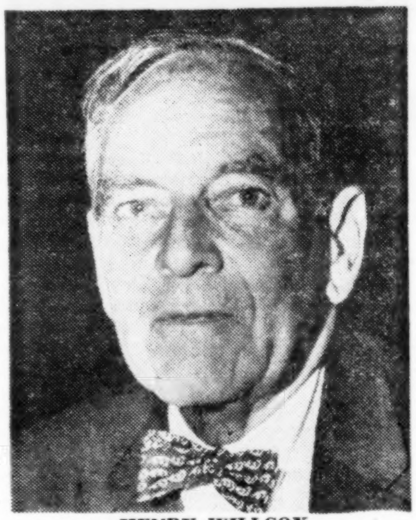
WILLCOX AND KEARNEY: For a second time since the passport hearings began, a charge of treason was aimed at a witness. Henry Willcox, Connecticut businessman, was so accused by committee member Bernard W. (Pat) Kearney (R-N. Y.) after Willcox told of his attendance at the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference held in Peking in 1952. Said Kearney: "I'm firmly convinced if there ever was a flagrant case of treason, this one is it—I urge the committee to send this case to the Dept. of Justice." He told newsmen that in his view Willcox had "given aid and comfort to the enemy."

Willcox in a statement said:

"In 1620 my forebears came to New England dreaming of freedom. I am a good American. I obey the law of the land and act in the best interests of my country as I see it. In 1952 I went to China to attend a peace conference—to see for myself what hope there was of peace in that quarter of the world. My passport was stamped 'not valid' for China. I ascertained that the law, nevertheless, did not forbid my going."

WHEATON REPLIES: A similar "treason" charge was made against Louis A. Wheaton on May 24, who has since lost his job as a result of the attack. He, too, had attended the Peking conference. In a letter to the GUARDIAN (see p. 2) he writes:

"I have been guilty of the fight for peace, the freedom of Asia and Africa and the Negro people here in the U. S. I am guilty of upholding the Bill of Rights and the principles of constitutional democracy in the U. S. . . . I went to China . . . to join the worldwide fight of the people for peace. I exercised my right of travel and the right to express my views on the question of peace and its interest to the American people. I am a modest, ordinary American citizen and I state, categorically, that this accusation of treason is the most despicable and diabolical distortion of the truth. I am a loyal, law-abiding citizen of the United States."



HENRY WILLCOX
"I am a good American"

"ALL WITHIN MY POWER": Robeson's appearance was a stormy one. In a prepared statement which he was not allowed to read but which he distributed to newsmen he said:

"It is my firm intention to continue to speak out against injustices to the Negro people, and I shall continue to do all within my power in behalf of independence of colonial peoples of Africa. It is for [Secy. of State] Dulles to explain why a Negro who opposes colonialism and supports the aspirations of Negro Americans should for those reasons be denied a passport."

He demanded to know: "Why does Walter not investigate the truly 'un-American' activities of [Sen. James O.] Eastland and his gang, to whom the constitution is a scrap of paper when invoked by the Negro people and to whom defiance of the Supreme Court is a racial duty?"

At the start of the hearing when Robeson asked who was speaking and chairman Walter identified himself, Robeson responded: "You are the great patriot? You wrote the law to keep all kinds of fine people out of the United States?"

"THE NON-PATRIOTS": Robeson said the committee was "trying to gag me here and abroad"; declared that "it's none of your business what I think"; accused the committee of wanting "to shut up every Negro who stands up for his rights"; and, when questioned about the CP, asked, "Would you like to come to the ballot box and look at my ballot when I vote?"

The abrupt adjournment came when Robeson boomed: "You are the non-patriots and you are the un-Americans and you ought to be ashamed of yourselves."

Robeson listed more than a dozen invitations he has received from abroad, including concert tours of England, Israel, Sweden, France and Australia, as well as proposals to play the leading role in **Othello** in England and to make a film version of the play in the Soviet Union.

PURPOSE OF HEARINGS: Rep. Walter is using the passport hearings as backing for a bill he has introduced which would give the Secy. of State legal authority to withhold passports on the basis of confidential information against an applicant. The State Dept. recently was forced by court action to grant a passport to Dr. Nathan rather than divulge its reasons for withholding it. At a House Judiciary subcommittee hearing on the bill on May 28, presided over by Walter, he described his purpose:

"We are trying to make it difficult for citizens who are not good Americans to . . . make broadcasts behind the Iron Curtain and spread vicious propaganda abroad about the United States."

One witness at that hearing, Jack Wasserman, representing the Assn. of Immigration and Nationality Lawyers, declared that "indiscriminate use of confidential information by administrative agencies is becoming a national disgrace."

FUND NEXT ON LIST? For its next investigative foray the Un-American Committee may have chosen a subject which can kick up more of a storm than it can weather: the Fund for the Republic, which was set up with a $15,000,000 grant from the Ford Foundation to conduct studies in the field of civil liberties. The Fund is headed by Robert M. Hutchins and its officers include some prominent Republicans, one of whom is currently a special assistant to President Eisenhower on government reorganization problems.

Rep. Walter says he wants an answer to this question: "Is this foundation, with its vast reservoir of funds and power, a friend or a foe in our nation's death struggle against the communist conspiracy?"

Mrs. Bachrach acquitted

Smith Act conspiracy charges against Mrs. Marian Bachrach, one of seven Communist leaders on trial in Federal Court in New York, were dismissed as the GUARDIAN went to press. Mrs. Bachrach was defended by Vincent Hallinan. The defense of the other six began on June 19 before Judge Alexander Bicks and the jury.

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The GUARDIAN issue of May 28, 1956 carried its 3rd detailed, first-hand account in 8 months of the unspeakable tortures suffered by thousands of Greek political prisoners over the past decade. This article—better to say SOS—closed with the words of the famous Greek author Themos Cornaros, one of the prisoners—and for those with eyes that see—a veritable Prometheus "Of all the beasts, only the viper refrains from coming to the aid of its fellow creatures threatened by danger or extermination. Those of you who remain indifferent while your fellow beings are slowly murdered, carry the stink of the viper."

Truer words were never spoken! That is exactly what Jesus meant when he branded his contemporaries as, 'a generation of vipers."

The GUARDIAN article was titled, "Greece: A Nightmare Persists" and subtitled, "How Can We End The Prisoners' Hell?"

Out of my own bitter experience with this struggle against Nazi-style Greek-American atrocities I am finally convinced that there is but one way to "end the nightmare." And that way is to shame, shock and shake all those who have been in a position to act on this and out of moral cowardice and callousness have failed to do so.

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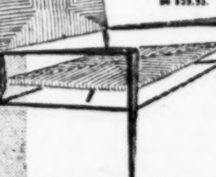

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the SPECTATOR

Listen, Marge . . .

DOMESTIC WORKERS Mildred and Marge live in the same Harlem tenement. Both dislike the corner butcher, but go there because it is closest and carries a good quality of meat. Mildred feels that if she stays patient and even-tempered she may eventually straighten out the butcher about Negro women. But it's probably because she keeps coming back that he seems to feel she doesn't really mind being called girlie and honeychile. Mildred, in her daily after-work conversation with Marge, best tells the story herself:

ALICE CHILDRESS

"When I went in there tonight, he tried to pick a conversation with me by sayin', 'There's some **fine** colored people around here, and I can say this: I'd rather know a Negro any day than to know a Jew'." Mildred cut him off. "I'm not interested, because folks that talk about Jews that way will be very quick to call me a 'nigger'." She told Marge: "If there's one thing I can't stand, it's getting one of them back-handed compliments . . . I know a lot of folks swallow that old line when it gets thrown at them. Don't I see 'em grinnin and smilin with that thank-you-so-much look on their faces! But if the fools only knew that as soon as they turned their back another name was pinned on them, they'd grin out of the other side of their mouth. No, **nobody** is gonna get in my good graces by tellin' me that some other folk is so distasteful to them that I look nice by comparison."

62 SKETCHES IN ALL: The title of that piece is "Nasty Compliment." As in 61 other pieces in Alice Childress' **Like One of the Family: Conversations From a Domestic's Life***, Mildred speaks her mind without mincing her words or biting her tongue. She thus serves Mrs. Childress—actress, and author of the plays **Just a Little Simple, Florence, Gold Through the Trees,** and **Trouble in Mind**—as Jesse B. Semple serves Langston Hughes. It was from the Hughes book, **Simple Speaks His Mind,** that Mrs. Childress adapted her **Simple.** Hughes wrote her publisher: "Alice Childress has hit upon a delightful way of presenting through the mouth of a single character what is in the minds and hearts of many Negro women working in American homes."

Her employer thought of Mildred as "one of the family." Didn't know what they'd do without her. Mildred told the lady, when the guest had gone: "I'm not just like one of the family . . . The family eats in the dining room and I eat in the kitchen. Your mama borrows your lace tablecloth for her company and your son entertains his friends in your parlor, your daughter takes her afternoon nap on the living room couch and the puppy sleeps on your satin spread . . ."

Didn't know what they'd do without her? That, Mildred said, was "a polite lie, because I know if I dropped dead or had a stroke you would get somebody to replace me." As for their "compliment" of not thinking of her as a servant, ". . . after I have worked myself into a sweat cleaning the bathroom and the kitchen, making the beds, cooking the lunch, washing the dishes and ironing Carol's pinafores, I do not feel like no weekend house guest . . ."

ALL ABOUT HER JOB: Is Mildred a trigger-tempered, self-pitying woman, ashamed because she's a domestic? Read her emphatic **No!** in "All About My Job," so complete a gem that abridgement would spoil it. Learn her attitude toward white people in "Somehow I'd Like to Thank Them," Mildred's account of what happened to South African white women who challenged the authorities when "the coloreds" were disfranchised. Mildred told Marge:

"It takes a lot of strength for a white person who has privileges to take a just stand for everybody's right. He knows that the bad folks will not spare him just 'cause he's white . . . I imagine that a whole lot of white people do not go along with this hatred and meanness that's going on, but they are scared stiff to speak out and maybe get garbage and stones thrown at them and perhaps lose their jobs and everything . . . Well you're perfectly right! It does mean that they are not free, either, or else they would be able to speak up as free citizens and say whatever happens to be on their minds without losin' their lives about it . . . No, I don't think those white women that I mentioned were braver than anybody else. Maybe they were kind of frightened when they did that. But I do believe they were the kind of folks that would have felt miserable if they hadn't done something to let people know what was in their hearts."

Mildred is an extraordinary person. Typical Negro domestic worker? No; she's a brilliantly vocal exception—as are Hughes' Simple and J. A. Rogers' Pullman porter in **From "Superman" to Man.** The truth is that it is the author and not the creation who is the people's tribune. This book is, therefore, not just a collection of stories and sketches, though lovers of these forms will be delighted.

"On Saying No" lets the reader in on a bit of Negro social life: Mildred does some entertaining in her own home on weekends. The moral cuts across racial lines. "Ridin the Bus" will do more than remind white readers that by and large their Negro neighbors—and their Negro friends—suffer indignities and insults and physical oppression because too many white persons do not protest or simply murmur, "Too bad."

There is hardly a piece which does not show Alice Childress' understanding and appreciation of people. The reader learns new ways of seeing people and things.

—Eugene Gordon

**LIKE ONE OF THE FAMILY, by Alice Childress. Independence Publishers, GPO Box 42, Brooklyn 1, N.Y. 224 pp. $3.*